/117 cont./

312 puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places
[246] lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants,
[231] which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as boars. The
137 Čipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nonetheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Čipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the
132 midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya
[133] has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate
[246] land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

[133] Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Čipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation
132 of the "canton," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most
221 crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe
196 are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Čipaya take place at this time and that all have the

2:Métraux--21 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya
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The chapels are surrounded by an enclosure and before the portal stands an oratory or a cross from which emanates a whole series of small chapels and oratories which follow each other in close succession for five or six kilometers. These strings of sacred buildings correspond in every respect to the zeque (1) of Cuzco, the

1. Ondegardo (Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas /Accounts concerning the Religion and Government of the Incas/, Part I, p. 114: "Many others, men and women, have charge of set huacas, of which particular account is given in the general letter about Cuzco, which is common in the whole realm and includes all the places which are distinguished from the others in some way, whether near the town or even as far away as the mountain peaks, if it is rugged country, and which they call apachetas, such as some large stones, and all the puquios and springs of water, or some level places which they build on some slope, or some specific trees, or the places where they sow the maize for the sacrifices, because all of these things are divided off by their ceques and boundaries around every town and are in the charge of persons who make within them different sacrifices for diverse effects, in some so that women may become pregnant, in others because they say that from them come the ice or the hail, and in others so that it may rain. Thus in this way does the Inca teach them this division of places

I 346 778

/122 cont./ in all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

I 346 778 171

succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominiums in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

I 361

U 823 82 [361] [1788]

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

U [1782]

U [1772]

/339 cont./

*[178] wood and come from the forests of eastern Bolivia. The Indians call them by the half-Aymara, half-Spanish word kamana-para, [171] "house stick." I never saw one in the Aymara huts where I stayed.

Sanctuaries, chapels, and oratories. The Čipaya celebrate their festivals at the foot of the sacred cones of earth, or mal'ku, near the samiris' cellar or in the chapels and the village church. I have already mentioned above the location of the mal'ku in relation to the village, and I have given a complete description of them. Hence note must be taken here only of the edifices of a *[178] • 346 mixed character, i.e., those which are used simultaneously for observances of Christian and pagan worship.

The church falls into this last category. Its belfry is a divinity common to the entire tribe, as the church is situated in the middle of the neutral ground which separates the two saya. Its interior is miserable and does not differ at all from the rural churches in the rest of Bolivia, unless in its poverty. On the altar are a few images [182] made of pasteboard, which receive blood sacrifices, offerings of coca, and libations of alcohol and chicha. Exactly as in other [176] Bolivian churches, one finds in this one an unusual number of boxes containing the image of Saint James on his horse, a saint whom the Indians hold in particular veneration and to whom they have given all the attributes and functions of the ancient god of thunder. One sees there also innumerable small terra-cotta bowls, full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns; these little lamps take the place of candles and are given by the faithful.

[614] Each clan has in addition its chapel, built on the same plan as the church but smaller. The interior decoration is almost the same but even more wretched. In front of the chapel a small enclosure is used for gatherings of the faithful when they assemble to drink or feast together in homage to some Christian or pagan divinity. From the Tuanta chapel a line of chapels and little square edifices, which for want of a better word I shall call oratories or altars, extends in a straight line toward the east, or more precisely toward the southeast. These are small cubes of earth topped with a niche

/339 cont./

*708 and decorated with small earthen cornices which make them vague-
● 346 ly comparable to miniature pagodas. The niche always faces east and generally contains coca leaves, dishes with the remains of offerings, small bottles full of alcohol, morsels of copal, and little lamps /340/ with tallow. Some coins are also to be found there. These curious constructions are carefully painted white and are numerous not only in the village but also in the whole extent of Čipaya territory, where they tend to be distributed in long strings. They alternate with tiny chapels which are within an enclosure and also decorated with cornices. The interior of these chapels is completely bare, and on the earthen altar one rarely finds anything other than the remains of offerings. However, one may make some bizarre discoveries there: tea boxes containing the oddest objects, cheap little mirrors, pious or secular pictures taken from illustrated magazines which have come to be stranded in these distant parts.

*708 Chapels and oratories are particularly abundant in the whole
346 of Carangas Province. They are generally on top of mountains
171 in the middle of the desert. Paths and even superb roads lead to
[487] them in a straight line, without regard for rugged places and
[491] sloping ground. These strange monuments which stand out against the grey of the mountains and which, distorted by mirage, look like temples or churches radiantly white, all contain the remains of offerings and some rare decoration. Near the village of Kala, a day and a half from Chipaya, I saw a whole group of these chapels carefully kept up and, in addition, bearing a small shelter for pilgrims. One could see piles of excrement there, drawn from the entrails of sacrificed animals, and traces of blood. At the foot of the hill there were stone enclosures for llamas. From this place
[491] roads five to six meters wide broke away and led in straight lines to all the points of the horizon. These large avenues, absolutely clean, did not seem to have been used for a long time. I never had the leisure to follow them to the end, but I believe that they would have led me to some village or to some group of houses forming
*708 an estancia or an ayl'u. The Indians never wanted to give me any
171 information about the purpose of these sanctuaries, and the priest

2:Métraux--213 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

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Plate IV

A. One of the estancias of Chipaya.

[346]

B. The little church of Chipaya, between the two "moieties."

/180/

Remarks

*539 206 The Uru build dams of totoras in a V-form on the Desaguadero, the point oriented toward the direction of the current. A narrow passage contrived at the point is closed at the time of fishing by means of a large circular net, the káku, installed on a balsa. Fishers standing on one or several balsas go downstream, beating the water with long poles furnished with a totora ball, in order to frighten the fish which, descending the river course, enter the enclosure and fall into the net [423] placed at the point. Each Uru family has its fishing enclosure, very far away from those of its neighbors (6-7). The distribution of the location of these enclosures as well as the use of the totora fields which are used to make balsas was ruled by Uru customary law.

*539 193 1. ti- ki or simply -ki, a particle to designate the object about which one is speaking: this enclosure here; this river here (5). 6. ʃíla- ʃíla, literally "one," means "one for each"; the repetition of the adverb háske háske has the value of a superlative; "far, far, very far"; Aymara and Kečwa form the superlative in an identical manner: eg.: Kala- Kala, "rock rock," in Aymara: "many rocks."

VII. The Village of the Uru at Iru-Itu
Comments on photographs by Manuel Inta

(See p. 164 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 [346] 1. Is this your chapel? 2. It is our chapel. 3. These are our houses. 4. The chapel is seen from behind. 5. The chapel is good that way (seen from the front). 6. The totora [824] is kept upright in a heap. /181/ 7. It is kept in a heap so that it will not rot.

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca.1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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Indigenista

Población Chipaya del Altiplano boliviano.—*Foto Instituto Lingüístico de Verano de Bolivia.*

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[title page]

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

8:Pain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SP24 Urn SP24
Iru Ifu
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Fig. 2: The village church.

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Fig. 3: Our leading lady and her mother, who was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen.

[P. 306-A]

114 retire to our respective quarters. Before leaving, I arranged the remaining provisions, carefully propping up a thermos containing our precious hot coffee for the morning. I have but few manias, the principal one being to brush my teeth. I therefore hunted for a bottle of water and found it empty. My hygienic preocupations vastly amused my companions, and someone offered me a bottle of lager. Not wishing to lose face I accepted, declaring that there was no better mouthwash, but feeling secretly rather sick at the idea of a combination of colgate and beer. But on carrying out the experiment, I found out that there *is* no better mouthwash in existence. By now the moon was high and full, and so strong was the light that finding it impossible to sleep I switched on the engine for heat, as in spite of my vicuña-lined sleepingbag, the cold was intense. I read for an hour or so, which gave me such a headache, that I had to take aspirin with the remaining beer. The next morning Abelot and I wound our way down to the river, which was frozen at the edge. We broke the ice, drew some water and washed, much to the surprise of the villagers. Again I brushed my teeth with the last drops of beer before the astonished gaze of the people who had never seen such a strange exhibition.

Arriving at the mayor's, we found the rest of the company singularly unglamorous and, o tragedy, someone had kicked over the thermos of coffee. We ate some apples and biscuits, but our depression melted away in the brilliant sun. The sky was blue as it is only to be seen on the Roof of the World. While the professor went off to take some sound-
433 recordings, we explored the village. There was prac-
[648] tically no sign of animal life or cultivation. This was normal, as the Aymara peasants refuse to allow the Uru, whom they consider as pariahs, to cultivate
[396] the ground. They have a narrow strip of shore on which to build their *balsas*.

346 We returned by the little church. Very occasionally
1093 a priest comes over from Guaqui on the lake. There

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 313-A]

[p. 310-B]

341 There
[996] were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no
[231] tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony
126 path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him
[396] standing motionless and followed the younger one
[283] down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

824 Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered
[731] from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among
[501] the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the
[964] stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes,
[913] the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

132 Fortunately in these last few years the climatic con-
137 ditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more in-
501 creased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and
396 one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long
283 braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

[p. 313-A]